

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9172

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 4419

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR OVIP JA (MIYAZAWA, KIICHI)

SUBJ: MIYAZAWA VISIT -- THE SETTING

SUMMARY: THE EMBASSY SUMMARIZES THE DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL CONTEXT IN WHICH THE MIYAZAWA VISIT OCCURS FROM THE MIKI GOVERNMENT'S POINT OF VIEW, AND ITS OBJECTIVES. END SUMMARY.

1. WHEN FOREIGN MINISTER KIICHI MIYAZAWA TRAVELS TO WASHINGTON NEXT WEEK TO MEET WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER, HE RETURNS TO A COUNTRY THAT HE HAS KNOWN WELL OVER A QWONG PERIOD. HE IS SAID TO FEEL COMFORTABLE AROUND AMERICANS -- SOCIALLY, MORE SO THAN WITH JAPANESE -- AND HE PROBABLY FEELS THAT HIS LANGUAGE ABILITY, SUBSTANTIVE EXPERIENCE AND PERSONAL ABILITY MAY ADD A NEW AND MORE INTIMATE QUALITY TO HIGH-LEVEL EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS.

2. MIYAZAWA ENTERS HIS FIRST WASHINGTON TALKS, HOWEVER, REPRESENTING A GOVERNMENT THAT IS STILL ONLY FOUR MONTHS OLD. THE MIKI GOVERNMENT, MOREOVER, CAME INTO OFFICE WITHOUT THE FINANCIAL OR POLITICAL STRENGTH ASSUMED NECESSARY FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SOLID, ENDURING JAPANESE ADMINISTRATION. INSTEAD OF ACCEPTING AN INTERIM CARETAKER ROIL, THOUGH, THE MIKI GOVERNMENT HAS MOVED TO ESTABLISH ITSELF IN POWER, AND HAS SURPRISED MANY -- AND DISCOMFITTED OTHERS -- BY THE ASSERTIVE MANNER IN

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WHICH IT HAS SET FORTH ITS OBJECTIVES. THE EFFORT HAS

EARNED INEVITABLE CRITICISM BECAUSE OF ITS CHARACTERISTIC CAUTION, BRED OF THE NEED TO AVOID GAFFES, CRITICISM AND FAILURE ON DECLARED POLICIES AND OBJECTIVES.

3. THE GOVERNMENT HAS SET ITS SIGHTS ON SEVERAL KEY GOALS:

-- A CURB ON INFLATION AND SUCCESSFUL MANAGEMENT OF AN ECONOMY IN RECESSION.

-- PROGRESS TOWARD LDP REFORMS PROMISED AT TIME OF TAKEOVER.

-- CONSERVATIVE SUCCESS -- OR AT LEAST AVOIDANCE OF CATASTROPHE -- IN ELECTIONS.

-- PROGRESS TOWARD RATIFICATION OF THE PRC PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY, KOREAN CONTINENTAL SHELF TREATY, AND THE NPT.

THE GOVERNMENT HAS AT LEAST BEEN ABLE TO SHOW SOME PROGRESS ON ALL OF THESE GOALS. IN THE MEANTIME, THE GOVERNMENT EARNED A MODEST PLUS TO ITS IMAGE BY THE WAY IT SHEPHERDED THE BUDGET THROUGH THE DIET INTACT, NEARLY ON TIME, AND WITHOUT SERIOUS RANCOR AND CONTROVERSY. MIKI'S SUCCESS IN HOLDING HIS TENUOUS POSITION THROUGH THESE FIRST MONTHS HAS NOT, HOWEVER, REMOVED, THE STRONG AND ENDURING RESISTANCE TO HIS LEADERSHIP WITHIN THE LDP. ON THE CONTRARY, MIKI IS STILL NOT ACCEPTED, EITHER BY PARTY FACTIONAL LEADERS OR THE RANK AND FILE, AS AN ESTABLISHED LEADER. THIS UNCERTAINTY OF TENURE DOMINATES THE ATMOSPHERE WITHIN HIS REGIME AND DICTATES THE STYLE AND TACTICS OF HIS CAREFUL MANEUVERS.

4. WORLD EVENTS HAVE COMPELLED A GRADUALLY INCREASING JAPANESE INTERNATIONAL ROLE, AND DOMESTIC WEAKNESS AND UNCERTAINTY OF TENURE HAVE NOT BARRED A CONTINUATION OF THIS TREND SINCE MIKI AND MIYAZAWA CAME INTO OFFICE. GOJ HANDLING OF THE ROK PROBLEM; ITS PURPOSEFUL MANAGEMENT OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PRC; ITS FIRM STANCE WITH THE SOVIETS; AND ITS PARTICIPATION IN THE MULTILATERAL CONTEXT OF THE ENERGY PROBLEM ALL HAVE SHOWN A WILL AND AN ABILITY TO BECOME A MORE ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN THE WORLD SCENE.

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5. THIS GROWING THRUST FOR A LARGER AND MORE DISTINCT STATUS IN WORLD AFFAIRS HAS, OF COURSE, CONTINUED TO BE HOBbled BY A CAUTION, OR DISINCLINATION, AGAINST GETTING TOO FAR OUT IN FRONT ON MOST OF THE WORLD'S CONTROVERSIAL PROBLEM AREAS. JAPAN STILL FEARS CONFRONTATION ON ENERGY. IT STILL LOOKS FOR A UN OR OTHER MULTILATERAL FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH IT CAN SEEK TO EXERCISE AN INFLUENCE WITHOUT BEING PROJECTED INTO THE

CONTENTIOUS POINT OF A PROBLEM AREA. FROM THE JAPANESE
POINT OF VIEW THIS STYLE IS ESSENTIAL FOR
THE SURVIVAL OF A COUNTRY WITHOUT DOMESTIC ENERGY AND
RAW MATERIALS SUPPLIES AND
WITHOUT THE POWER TO CONTROL OR SUBSTANTIALLY
AFFECT THE WORLD'S PROBLEMS. DOMESTIC POLITICAL PRESSURES
ARE ALSO AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION, ESPECIALLY FOR A
FLEDGLING GOVERNMENT LIKE MIKI'S.

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6. FOR THE MIKI GOVERNMENT, JAPAN'S RELATIONSHIP
WITH THE UNITED STATES REMAINS THE FUNDAMENTAL BASE
FOR CONSIDERATION OF ALL FOREIGN POLICY. MIKI AND HIS
CABINET ARE NO DIFFERENT IN THIS CONVICTION THAN
PREVIOUS CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENTS. BOTH MIKI AND
MIYAZAWA, HOWEVER, PROBABLY HAVE FELT THAT ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE CURRENT ADMINISTRATION'S LINK WITH THE U.S. IS
DELICATE -- MIKI, BECAUSE HE CARRIES THE LEGACY OF
PAST STATEMENTS AND VIEWS THAT DEVIATED FROM THE
RIGIDLY UNQUESTIONING LOYALTY OF TRADITIONAL POSTWAR
CONSERVATIVE LEADERS TO THE U.S. RELATIONSHIP AND
EVEN U.S. POLICIES IN LARGE MEASURE; MIYAZAWA,
BECAUSE HE IS SAID TO BE SENSITIVE ABOUT HIS OWN IMAGE
OF CAREER IDENTIFICATION WITH THE U.S. THEY THEREFORE HAVE
FOUND IT AWKWARD TO MAKE THEIR MOVE TO ESTABLISH
PERSONAL CONTACT WITH AMERICAN LEADERS IN THE FIRST
MONTHS OF THEIR GOVERNMENT.

7. THE PRIMARY IMPORTANCE OF THE RELATIONSHIP WITH
THE U.S. MAKES THIS FIRST EFFORT AT PERSONAL CONTACT

EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO THE MIKI GOVERNMENT. NEGATIVELY,
A FAILURE TO MAINTAIN CONFIDENT CHANNELS FOR CONSULTATION
AT THE TOP WITH THE U.S. WOULD OPEN MIKI TO DEVASTATING
ATTACK FROM MORE CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS OF HIS OWN PARTY.
POSITIVELY, THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PROBLEMS THEY WANT TO
DISCUSS WITH US IS VITALLY IMPORTANT TO JAPAN -- INCLUDING
THE NPT-RELATED SECURITY ISSUE, THE AMERICAN VIEW OF
INDOCHINA AND THE MIDDLE EAST, ENERGY AND THE OTHER
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ITEMS THAT ARE EMERGING IN THE GOJ AGENDA.

8. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, THEREFORE, FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA
WILL HAVE THE FOLLOWING MAIN OBJECTIVES IN MIND AS
HE ENTERS MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY:

- A. RESUMPTION OF TOP-LEVEL DIALOGUE WITH THE
U.S. -- WHAT PRIME MINISTER MIKI HAS CALLED "CONTINUOUS
DIALOGUE" BETWEEN TWO GOVERNMENTS.
- B. REITERATION OF GOJ POLICY OF CLOSE CONSULTATION
AND COOPERATION WITH THE U.S.
- C. FIRST-HAND, TOP-LEVEL EXPOSITION OF U.S.
POLICIES, ASSESSMENTS AND INTENTIONS IN RELATION TO
MAJOR PROBLEMS OF THE WORLD.-- MIKI GOVERNMENT LIKE OTHERS
BEFORE IT REQUIRE THIS KNOWLEDGE FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL
STRENGTH AND FOR EFFECTIVE FORMULATION OF JAPAN'S
OWN COURSE.
- D. REASSURANCES FROM AUTHORITATIVE LEVEL OF U.S.
STRENGTH AND DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE WORLD LEADERSHIP
ROLE AND MAINTAIN COMMITMENTS -- DOUBLY IMPORTANT IN LIGHT
OF RECENT WORLD DEVELOPMENTS.
- E. POLICY CONSULTATION ON INDOCHINA IN LIGHT
OF RAPIDLY MOVING CRISIS THERE (GOJ REASSESSMENT OF
INDOCHINA AND ASIAN POLICIES WILL BE SUBJECT OF
SUBSEQUENT REPORTING AS WE OBTAIN INDICATIONS OF
CURRENT THINKING).
- F. U.S. ASSISTANCE TO MEET DOMESTIC POLITICAL
CHALLENGE REPRESENTED BY LDP MINORITY'S DEMAND OFR
SECURITY REASSURANCE IN CONTEXT OF NPT DEBATE.
- G. SATISFACTION OF MIYAZAWA'S DESIRE AND
REQUIREMENT FOR PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH SECRETARY
KISSINGER, HOPEFULLY PAVING THE WAY FOR A SUCCESSFUL
VISIT TO WASHINGTON LATER IN THE YEAR BY PRIME
MINISTER MIKI.
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